

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, OAU

SUBJECT: COMMENTARY AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THE OAU SUMMIT
SUPPORTIVE OF US POSITION

REFS: (A) STATE 008555, (B) ADDIS ABABA 0397, (C) ADDIS ABABA 0337

1. EMBASSY PRESENTLY HAS COPIES OF SPEECHES GIVEN BY KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA, SENGOR OF SENEGAL, SERETSE KHAMA OF BOTSWANA, MAJOR GENERAL KHALED OF SUDAN, AND SAMORA MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE. ALL BUT KAUNDA'S SPEECH WERE MADE IN OPEN SESSION. GIST WAS REPORTED REF C.

2. AS NOTED IN PARA 2 REF B, KAUNDA GENERALLY SUPPORTED US POSITION. KAUNDA STATED, "I WANT TO STRESS THE FACT THAT THE PREFERENCE FOR ONE MOVEMENT (IN ANGOLA) DOES NOT AND SHOULD NOT PRECLUDE OTHER MOVEMENTS FROM THE GIGANTIC TASK OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION...AS I HAVE STATED ABOVE, THE OAU HAS NOT WITHDRAWN RECONGITION FROM ANY OF THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES IN ANGOLA FORMALLY OR OTHERWISE. MPLA, FNLA, AND UNITA REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY OF ANGOLA AS POLITICAL AND MILITARY FACTS. AS OF NOW THE FOLLOWING IS THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA:

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(A) ANGOLA IS A MULTI PARTY STATE WITH THREE

POLITICAL PARTIES STRUGGLING FOR POWER. NONE HAS AN EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA;

(B) THE TWO SUPER-POWERS AND OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE INTERVENED ON THE SIDE OF ONE OR THE OTHER OF THE CLAIMANT GOVERNMENTS;

(C) SOUTH AFRICA, THAT RACIST AND MAJOR PROBLEM FOR AFRICA, HAS TAKEN SIDES AND IS FIGHTING AGAINST ONE OF THE PARTIES;

(D) TWO CONTENDING GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN DECLARED BY THE THREE MOVEMENTS AND SOME AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE RECOGNISED THE LUANDA-BASED GOVERNMENT WHILE OTHERS ARE CALLING FOR THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

"WE CANNOT PRETEND THAT THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES DO NOT EXIST IN ANGOLA. THIS WOULD BE SELF-DECEPTION. THE FACT THAT EACH ONE IS IDEOLOGICALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO ONE OR THE OTHER OF MEMBER STATES OF THE OAU DOES NOT RENDER ITS EXISTENCE NULL AND VOID.

"THE FACT THAT ALL OF THEM ARE BEING SUPPORTED BY COUNTRIES OR FORCES AGAINST WHICH SOME MEMBER STATES OBJECT TO DOES NOT ERASE THE FACT OF A PARTY. ANOTHER FACTOR IS ONE OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION. HERE, I WOULD LIKE TO STATE FIRST AND FOREMOST THAT EVERYONE IN THE HALL CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLO. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICA AND DO CONDEMN THEM NOW. WE CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA. WE IN ZAMBIA NEED NO LECTURING FROM ANYONE ABOUT APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM. WE HAVE FOUGHT SOUTH AFRICAN PARTHEID FOR MANY YEARS. OUR PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED OR MAIMED AND PROPERTY DESTROYED IN SUPPORT OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE. WE KNOW THAT PIOUS SPEECHES DO NOT BRING LIBERATION. ONLY ACTION DOES. I KNOW SOME OF US WILL FORGET ABOUT THE STRUGGLE SOON AFTER TAKE-OFF FROM ADDIS ABABA, WHILE FOR ZAMBIA, THIS IS ONLY PART OF THE DAILY PROGRAMME.

"THERE IS AN EQUALLY DANGEROUS DIMENSION CONTRIBUTING TO THE ANGOLAN TRAGEDY. THIS IS THE INTERVENTION OF SUPER-POWERS AND THEIR ALLIES. IN THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENT AFRICA, THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THOUSANDS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF NON-AFRICAN REGULAR TROOPS AND HEAVY SOPHISTICATED MILITARY EQUIPMENT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT IN TO INSTALL ONE POLITICAL PARTY INTO POWER AND IN SERVICE OF THEIR HEGEMONIC INTERESTS. THIS IS A MOST DANGEROUS PHENOMENON WHICH CONSTITUTES A GRAVE THREAT TO THE ENTIRE CONTINENT AND THE UNITY OF AFRICA.

"THE INVOLVEMENT AND RIVALRY OF SUPERPOWERS IN ANGOLA MUST NOT BE CONDONED BY THE OAU.

"WHILST THESE SUPERPOWERS ARE TRUMPETING THE END OF THE COLD WAR ERA, IN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS, THEY ARE AT THE SAME TIME SOWING SEEDS OF DISCORD IN AFRICA. ANGOLA IS NOW A THEATRE FOR THEIR HEGEMONIC RIVALRY.

"IT IS DANGEROUS FOR AFRICA TO SIDE WITH ONE SUPERPOWER FOR THAT IS AN AUTOMATIC INVITATION TO THE OTHER TO GET INVOLVED. THE WORLD IS CRUEL. TIME HAS COME FOR US TO REAFFIRM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PAN-AFRICANISM.

1. NO INTERVENTION BY FOREIGN POWERS IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

2. NO INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER INDEPENDENT STATES.

"ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION MUST CEASE AND ALL FOREIGN TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT MUST BE WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA. AFRICA MUST NEVER BE THE INSTRUMENT FOR FURTHERING THE OBJECTIVES OF ANY SUPERPOWERS.

"WE ARE ALSO CERTAIN THAT IF THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF UNITY IS ACHIEVED AMONG THE CONTENDING PARTIES IT WILL BE INFINITELY EASY FOR ANGOLANS AND THE OAU TO REMOVE ALL EXTERNAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE CONFLICT. THE OAU SHOULD NOT PLAY A DIVISIVE ROLE IN ANGOLA. IF WE ARE NOT CAREFUL, WE SHALL CREATE A VERY DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR AFRICA. WE COULD VERY EASILY ERODE THE VERY PRINCIPLES WHICH HAVE SUSTAINED OUR UNITY IN THE PAST. WE COULD SOW SEEDS OF ANGOLA'S DISMEMBERMENT. ZAMBIA DOES NOT WANT ANY OF THESE POSSIBILITIES TO OCCUR. ZAMBIA IS COMMITTED, AS ALWAYS, TO THE UNITY OF BOTH THE OAU AND ANGOLA. ZAMBIA'S OBJECTIVES IN THIS REGARD ARE AS FOLLOWS:--

(A) PEACE IN ANGOLA. WE WANT PEACE WHICH MEANS MORE THAN THE ABSENCE OF A FRUITLESS WAR. WE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SEEK THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNDERSTANDING, HARMONY, AND CO-OPERATION AMONG ALL THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA WHO HAVE STRUGGLED FOR CENTURIES FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE AGAINST FOREIGN DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION. TODAY IN ANGOLA, AS I HAVE STATED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, THERE IS INDEPENDENCE WHICH WE HAPPILY RECOGNISE, BUT WHICH DOES NOT CARRY WITH IT THE ATTRIBUTES OF FREEDOM.

(B) ZAMBIA WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED AND PROSPEROUS ANGOLA. IN ZAMBIA'S VIEW IF THE WAR CONTINUES IT WILL RESULT IN THE BALKANISATION OF ANGOLA. THE OAU DOES NOT WANT TO SEE THIS HAPPEN."

3. AS NOTED IN REF C, PRESIDENT SENGOR IN HIS ADDRESS

RESERVEDLY PARALLELED THE US POSITION. HE SAID, "IF WE WISH TO FIND THE INTERNAL TRUTH OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE WHICH WILL EXPRESS ITSELF IN AN AUTHENTIC ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AS THE OAU HAS BEGUN TO DO TO PUSH THE THREE MOVEMENTS TOWARDS DIALOGUE . . . ONCE AGAIN, IN ANGOLA AS IN ALL OTHER STATES IN THE WORLD, THE POWER BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE, AT LEAST ACCORDING TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONCEPT OF THE RULE OF THE LAW OF PEOPLE AND NATIONS. THE PROBLEM THEREFORE FOR THE OAU WOULD BE TO PERMIT THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE IN FREE ELECTIONS TO DESIGNATE THEIR REPRESENTATIVES AND THEIR LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. . . . LET US CONDEMN, THEREFORE, SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION BUT AT THE SAME TIME AND WITH THE SAME ENERGY THE SAME EXTRA-AFRICAN INTERVENTIONS WHETHER THEY ARE EUROPEAN, AMERICAN, OR ASIAN."

COMMENT: ACCORDING TO MOST SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS WE HAVE TALKED TO, BOTH SPEECHES WERE VERY INFLUENTIAL. ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE, KAUNDA'S SPEECH SO MOVED TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE THAT HE CANCELLED HIS PLANNED SPEECH WHEN KAUNDA FINISHED.

4. COMMENT: IF USE TO BE MADE OF THE FOREGOING IT SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED. ALTHOUGH PORTIONS OF KAUNDA'S SPEECH HAVE ENTERED THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, THE FULL TEXT WAS NOT RPT NOT RELEASED HERE.

HUMMEL

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